2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
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and *oro* the cry of welcome are the same words. *Oroda* appears to be simply *oro* with the associative particle *da*.

Another very quaint Taro password is '*Kia kia!*' uttered as a man is yawning, much as we would say, 'Oh dear!' No witness ever succeeded in explaining this curious custom, which, as far as I know, belongs to the Taro cult alone. It provides a good instance of the way in which details of practice are faithfully transmitted while their significance is entirely lost. A number of other Taro expressions have come into popular use in the same way. *Kasamba* and *tinogu* have been mentioned already, but there were numerous fictitious synonyms, possibly of a respectful or euphemistic character, which achieved some popularity although they were probably learned simply by rote. I am indebted to Mr. Elder for several examples: the dog (*sino*) was called *eupu*; sago (*ambe*) was called *orai*; and pigs (*pu*) were called *puyoroba*.

8. *The Jipari or Shaking-fit*

I now have to deal with what is the most disagreeable feature of the cult, viz. the uncontrolled bodily movements or paroxysms which, unfortunately, the Taro man believes to be an important part of his 'work'. These paroxysms were characteristic of the *Baigona* cult before, though they then took a form somewhat different. The word used by the *Baigona* men to describe this condition was usually *dutari*, to tremble. It might be used of the ague or shivering fit which is merely the result of cold; for instance, a youth after spending a long time in the river in pursuit of eels, was said to *dutari* when he was merely shivering violently. The expression most commonly employed for the shaking-fit of the Taro indicates a somewhat different style. *Jipari* is used of the sling (*tapai*) as it is whirled before the stone is released; also of a branch swaying or swinging in the wind. There is a certain well-known character among the Tain Daware tribe who is named Jipari. As so often among the

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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stitute. If such be the case, however, the change must have taken place or the substitution have been allowed in the very distant past, for we find that the well-established custom of the Orokaiva was to grant *otohu* both for human corpses and for pigs, and not only to man-slayers, but to boys, women, and young girls. So that an *otohu* together with the social *éclat* and dignity which its possession implies, is not only for the man-slayer but is within the reach of every one.

But the *otohu* with its social distinction may involve some social obligation. And this brings us to a discussion on the meaning of the word, which proves indeed a rather baffling subject. Beaver (who uses the Binandele form of the word, viz. *kotopu* or *Kortopo*) has said: 'I am not altogether clear whether the word "Kortopo" is strictly applicable to the act, the ceremony, the thing, the donor, the recipient, or to all of them, and, in describing the ceremony, therefore, the word may be used rather loosely. The Anglican Mission uses the word in the Binandele language to translate our "set apart", and therefore "holy". The sense, I gathered from my informants, was that of "superman", and indeed it is no great tax on the mind to connect the two.'[1]

While I would not deny that both these meanings may attach to the word, I still have not met them in my own inquiries. The only time I heard anything approaching the meaning 'superman' was when an Orokaiva, who had settled in another part of the Territory, gave *kotopu* as the equivalent in his language for 'chief'. The meaning of 'set apart' or 'holy' perhaps comes nearer to the results of my own questioning.

Adjectivally, the word seems to indicate 'well-behaved' in the widest sense of the term. It was applied to a law-abiding and amenable member of society, and perhaps the nearest equivalent in our language would be 'decent' or 'respectable'. The emphasis is certainly laid on the milder virtues rather than the more heroic. Thus a man was *otohu* or *otohu-embo* who did not quarrel, who did not beat his wife or children, who did not ill-treat his dogs and pigs, and who did not steal. According to one informant, an *otohu* man

[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 98.

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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was he who went about his work quietly, who returned from his garden with wood on his shoulder and set it down, and then chewed his betel without 'rowing'. Diligence bears some part in this rather complex ideal, and so certainly does generosity: an *otohu-embo*, I was assured, would never refuse a request for tobacco. But it is on the negative virtues of respectability that the greater stress is laid.

Now I am bound to think that this concept of *otohu* as a good character bears directly on the instructions which the *aguma* gives the initiate at the bestowal of the *otohu* ornament. I have heard a number of versions of these instructions: the youth is adjured not to quarrel or brawl, not to steal, not to commit adultery. He is told to be diligent in the garden, in hunting, and in fishing; and to be generous and helpful, never refusing to fetch wood and water, or to give betel-nut to his friend. So a woman is told to lend an ear to what her husband says, and never give him 'strong talk' in return; to accompany him wherever he goes; to be faithful to him; and to keep her hands off other women's property.

It is at the actual presentation of the *otohu* ornament that these injunctions are laid upon the youth or the girl, and thenceforward, it appears, the initiate must live up to the *otohu* character. I have been told that a man might refuse to enter into a quarrel, saying, No, I am an *otohu-embo*; whereas one who had never received the *otohu* would grow up bad-tempered and a ne'er-do-well.

We may conclude, therefore, that the possession of an *otohu* does involve a social obligation. It is an honour and a privilege bestowed by society, but it means that the recipient should settle down as a thoroughly amenable member of that society.

I would not claim that this meaning, viz. decent or amenable to society, was necessarily the basic meaning of *otohu*. I should think rather that the name belonged in the first place to the concrete object or ornament, and that it came to be used for the negative virtues of respectability because those virtues were impressed upon the youth when the ornament was given him.

I am quite unable to offer any useful conjecture as to the

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derivation of the word. It was observed that *otohu* was the name given to the 'male' flute at Wasida, though this seems to throws no light on its meaning. More interesting perhaps is the fact that among the Baruga, southern neighbours to the Orokaiva, *kotopo* means a clan badge; and that this badge commonly takes the form of some arrangement of white ovulum shells which are presented to the initiates (fixed to their arms or legs) when they emerge from seclusion. It is not impossible that the Orokaiva *otohu* (or *kotopo*) —although it has no clan significance—should have been originally identical with the clan badge of the Baruga.

Girls' Puberty Seclusion

The puberty seclusion of girlhood together with the formal ceremony of emergence may be treated separately, although they are in principle similar to the initiatory seclusion and the début which have been described in the foregoing pages. This last section should be regarded as an appendix to the present chapter.

As explained on p. 184, the girl enters seclusion directly her first menses appear. After a term of varying length she makes a début similar to that of the initiates and receives her *kokumbari* or feather decorations. She may be content with this, marry, and never pass through her initiation. But very commonly she will qualify for initiation and an *otohu*, and this will necessitate a second seclusion among the initiates. It is the first, or puberty initiation, which I shall now briefly describe.

The girl is confined in a specially constructed compartment of the house. I have cases in which this was variously the house of her father, her maternal uncle, and her husband's father (for a girl may go to the house of her husband's father before she has reached the age of puberty). She is commonly confined alone, though, if by a happy coincidence several girls in the neighbourhood reach this point of development at about the same time, it will be arranged that they come down out of their seclusion on one and the same occasion. It thus happens that the duration of their confinement varies considerably, one girl having to wait for another.

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
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Mr. Holland informs me that the Spear men were first noticed by one of his teachers at Ambasi, near the Opi mouth. Since then the movement has spread very widely in the Dobodura and Wasida districts, but we may remember that it appears to have had its origin farther north and nearer the fountain-head of the Taro cult.

The word *diroga*, common in one form or another to all the Binandele dialects, bears a number of meanings. The fundamental idea is 'pertaining to the spirit of a *slain* man'. In districts into which the new *Diroga* cult has not penetrated, and where it is quite unknown, the word is nevertheless used for the 'spirit or ghost of the slain'. Among the various shifting conceptions of the life after death there is one (tolerably uniform) that the spirit of a man slain in battle differs from the spirits of those who succumb to sorcery or sickness. It has always this distinctive quality, that it travels aloft, not on the earth or in the water: it may take the typical forms of fruit-bat, fire-fly, or meteor; and it may be heard whistling or piping as it flits overhead in the darkness.

One or two other meanings are probably derivative. *Diroga* may stand for the *pona* or feast made by the relatives of a man *killed in fight*. Secondly, as Mr. Elder states, 'the word means vengeance or punishment'. The connexion is obvious: never a man was killed among the Orokaiva but his relatives thought of revenge.[1]

Now the *Diroga* man, like most other Taro men, is possessed by a spirit of the dead; but it is invariably the spirit of one who was slain. That is to say, a *Diroga* man is so called because he is possessed by a *diroga*. The difference is fully recognized by leading votaries of the newer cult. They point out that one who is possessed by the spirit of the taro itself or by that of a man who has died 'in his bed' may indeed be a Taro man, but he has not the qualification necessary for a *Diroga* man. One or two examples will make this qualification clear. A man

[1] *Diroga* (with a capital *D*) will stand for the *Diroga* cult; *diroga* for the spirit of the slain man.

3: Reay E-4, 5 (1951) 1953 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

SOCIAL CONTROL AMONGST THE OROKAIVA

By Marie Reay

Introduction

"Orokaiva" is a general term denoting people speaking Binandele and related dialects who occupy a large part of the Northern Division of Papua. Orokaiva society was investigated in some detail in the 1920's by the late Dr. F. E. Williams, Government Anthropologist. This article is based upon data furnished in Dr. Williams' published work,[1] supplemented by observations recorded by the author during a brief field period early in 1951 which was interrupted by the eruption of Mt. Lamington. My own observations refer to the Wasida or Jegase Sarahu tribe,[2] whereas some of Dr. Williams' information was gathered from the Aiga, Binandele and Tain Daware tribes, which are situated in other parts of the Division but nevertheless reveal a social organization practically identical with that of the Wasida people.

In investigating social control amongst the Orokaiva, three aspects will be examined which would seem to be important in any empirical study of social control. Firstly, there are the ideals people expect one another to try to live up to: the Orokaiva use the convenient term *otohu* to refer to these. Secondly, it is necessary to study education in conformity, which involves a consideration of Orokaiva childhood and an examination of the ritual of initiation from this point of view. Thirdly, there are the actual sanctions operating to encourage conformity with Orokaiva ideals. There will be an attempt, finally, to assess the effectiveness of this system.

(1) Orokaiva Ideals

The Orokaiva term *otohu* is perhaps midway between behaviour which is normally expected and that which is ideally desirable. This term is used in two senses: adjectivally, it indicates that the person so described is well-behaved in certain definite ways and, secondly, it signifies an honorific ornament worn by a large number of people. A man is *otohu* if he is generous and helpful, and is diligent in gardening and hunting[3]; also, the *otohu* man does not quarrel or brawl, he does not steal, nor does he commit adultery. A woman is *otohu* if she listens to her husband and does not speak to him angrily, if she is faithful to him and accompanies him wherever

[1] F. E. Williams, "Plant-Emblems Among the Orokaiva," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LV, 1925; *Orokaiva Magic* (1928); *Orokaiva Society* (1930).

[2] Called the Jegasa-Saraa tribe by E. W. P. Chinnery and W. N. Beaver (*Papuan Annual Report* for 1914–15, pp. 158 ff.).

[3] *I.e.*, if he is able to vary the diet of his household occasionally with food from the bush, and if he works his garden regularly.